651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross
486 a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in
563 the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of
668 Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

565 The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;